

*Bethel, J.*  
THE  
WORLD'S MISTAKE  
IN

*W*  
Oliver Cromwell;

OR,

*H. 88.42*

A short Political Discourse,

S H E W I N G,

That CROMWELL'S Mal-administration, (during his *Four Years*, and *Nine Months* pretended Protectorship,) layed the Foundation of our present Condition, in the Decay of TRADE.

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LONDON,

Printed in the Year MDCLXVIII.



THE  
WORLD'S MYSTERY  
IN  
Olive's Journal  
A NOVEL

BY  
THE  
AUTHOR OF  
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AND  
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## The *World's Mistake* in *Oliver Cromwell*, &c.



**O**F all the Sins, that the Children of Men are guilty of, there is none, that our corrupt Natures are more inclinable unto, than that of *Idolatry*, a Sin, that may be towards Men, so well as other Creatures, and things; For, as that which a Man unmeasurably relies, and sets his Heart upon, is Called his *G O D*, even as that which he falls down before, and worshipping: so, when one hath the Person of another in an excess of admiration, whether for Greatness or Richness, &c. which we are subject to adore, we are said to Idolize him; and therefore the wise *Venetians*, who, of all men, are most Jealous of their Liberty, Considering that as the nature of Man is not prone to any thing more than the Adoration of Men, So nothing is more destructive to Freedom, hath, for preventing the Mischiefs of it, made it unlawfull, even so much as to mourn for their Duke at his death; Intimating thereby, that their Felicity and Safety depends not upon the uncertain Thred of any one Man's life; but upon the Vertue of their good Laws, and Orders, well executed, and that they can never want vertuous Persons to succeed: and how do such Principles in men, lead by little more than Moralitie, reprove those, who have a great measure of Gospel-light, for their senseless excess, in their adoring the remembrance of *Cromwell*. For as the Objects of Idolatry are mistaken Creatures, or things, proceeding some times from self-love, so well as other Causes, So the undeserved approbation, and applause, that *Cromwell's* memory seems to have with his Adherents, amounting to little less, than the Idolizing of him, appears to me, to be the product of an excessive Veneration of Greatness, and a selfish Partiality towards him; for that the more honour is given to him, the more prayse they think will consequently redound to them.



them, who were his Favourites; and they fortifie themselves here'n, with the Credit they say he hath abroad, though there is little in that, because the opinion that Strangers have of him, may well be put upon the accompt of their ignorance, in the Affairs of *England*, which Travellers do finde, to be so great, even amongst Ministers of State, as is to be admired. And now as this Error in Idolizing *Oliver* hath two moral Evils in it, (besides the sin in it self:) The one, a reflection upon the present times, as if the former were better than these; And the other, the unjust defrauding the *Long Parliament* of that which is due to them, to give it Idolitiously to him, to whom it doth not belong; I esteem it a Duty incumbent upon me, to discover the Mistake. I am not insensible, that I shall by this, draw the envye of those upon me, who, being Jealous of their Honour, will be angry for touching them in their *Diana*; but knowing my self clear, from the Vices of envying Vertue in any, how contrary soever he may be to me in Judgment; so well, as from being unwilling to allow every one their due Commendations, I will cast my self upon Providence, for the success of this Paper; And in reference to *Cromwell's* Government, and the present times, make some Observations relating to both, and in order thereunto, shew;

First, That the original cause of the low condition that we are now (in relation to Trade) reduced unto, had it's beginning in *Olivers* time, and the foundations of it, layed, either, by his ignorant mistaking the Interest of this Kingdome, or wilfully doing it, for the advancement of his own particular Interest.

Secondly, That his time, for the short continuance, had as much of oppression, and injustice, as any former times.

Thirdly and lastly, That he never in his later dayes, valued either honour or honesty, when they stood in the way of his ambition, and that there is nothing to be admired in him (though so much Idolized) but that the partiality of the world, should make him so great a favorite of ignorance, and forgetfulness, as he seems to be.

When this late Tyrant, or Protector, (as some calls him) turned out the Long Parliament, the Kingdome was arrived at the highest



highest pitch of Trade, Wealth, and Honour; that it, in any Age, ever yet knew. The Trade appeared, by the great Sums offered then for the Customs and Excises, Nine hundred thousand pounds a year, being refused. The Riches of the Nation, shew'd it self, in the high value, that Land, and all our Native Commodities bore, which are the certain marks of opulencie. Our Honour, was made known to all the world, by a Conquering Navie, which had brought the proud *Hollanders* upon their Knees, to begg peace of us, upon our own Conditions, keeping all other Nations in awe. And besides these advantages, the publick stock, was Five hundred thousand pounds in ready Money, the value of seven hundred thousand pounds in Stores, and the whole Army in Advance, some four, and none under two months, so that though there might be a debt of near Five hundred thousand pounds upon the Kingdom, he met with above twice the value in lieu of it. The Nation being in this flourishing and formidable posture, *Cromwell* began his Usurpation, upon the greatest advantages imaginable, having it in his power to have made peace, and profitable Leagues, in what manner he had pleased with all our Neighbours, every one courting us then, and being ambitious of the friendship of *England*. But as if the Lord had infatuated, and deprived him of common sense and reason, he neglected all our golden opportunities, misimproved the Victory God had given us over the *United Netherlands*, making peace (without ever striking a stroke) so soon as ever things came into his hands, upon equal terms with them. And immediately after, contrary to our Interests, made an unjust War with *Spain*, and an impolitic League with *France*, bringing the first thereby under, and making the latter too great for Christendome; and by that means, broke the Ballance betwixt the two Crowns of *Spain*, and *France*, which his Predecessors the Long Parliament, had alwayes wisely preserved. In this dishonest War with *Spain*, he pretended, and endeavour'd, to impose a belief upon the world, that he had nothing in his eye, but the advancement of the Protestant Cause, and the honour of this Nation; but his pretences, were either fraudulent,



lent, or he was ignorant in Foreign affairs ( as I am apt to think, that he was not guilty of too much knowledge in them ) For he that had known anything of the temper of the Popish Prelacie, and the French Court policies, could not but see, that the way to increase, or preserve the reformed Interest in *France*, was by rendering the Protestants of necessary use to their King, for that longer than they were so, they could not be free from persecution, and that the way to render them so, was by keeping the balance betwixt *Spain* and *France* even, as that, which would consequently make them usefull to their King: But by overthrowing the ballance in his Warr with *Spain*, and joyning with *France*, he freed the French King from his fears of *Spain*, inabled him to subdue all Factions at home, and thereby to bring himself into a condition of not standing in need of any of them, and from thence, hath proceeded the persecution that hath since been, and still is, in that Nation, against the reformed there; so that *Oliver*, instead of advancing the reformed Interest, hath by an error in his Politicks, been the Author of destroying it.

The Honour and Advantage, he propounded to this Nation, in his pulling down of *Spain*, had as ill a foundation: For if true, as was said, that we were to have had *Offend*, and *Newport*, so well as *Dunkirk* (when we could get them) they bore no proportion in any kind, to all the rest of the King of *Spain*'s European Dominions, which must necessarily have fallen to the French Kings share, because of their joyning, and nearness to him, and remoteness from us, and the increasing the greatness of (so near a Neighbour, must have increased our future danger. But this man, who through ignorance, is so strangely cryed up in the world, was not guilty of this error in State only, but committed as great a solecisme, in his designing the ouing of the King of *Denmark*, and setting up of the King of *Sweden*: For had the *Sweeds*, but got *Copenhagen*, (as in all probability had *Charles* lived, they would have done) they had wanted nothing of consequence, but the Cities of *Lubeck* and *Dantzicke*, (which by their then potencie, they would easily have gained) of being Masters of the whole *Baltick* Sea, on both sides, from the Sound or mouth down to the bottome of it; by which, together with all *Denmark*, *Norway*,  
and



and the *Danes*, part of *Holftein*, which would consequently have been theirs (they then having as they still have the Land of *Bremen*) there would have been nothing, but the small Counties of *Ouldenburge*, and *East-Friezland*, (which would easily have fallen into their mouths) betwixt them, and the *United Netherlands*, whereby *Sweden*, would on the one side to the North, and North-East, have been as great, as *France* on the other, to the South, and South-West; and they two, able to have divided the Western Empire betwixt them.

And whereas, it had in all Ages been the policies of the Northern States and Potentates, to keep the Dominion of the *Baltick* Sea, divided amongst several petty Princes and States, that no one might be sole Master of it; because otherwise, most of the necessary Commodities for shipping, coming from thence and *Normay*, any one Lord of the whole, might lay up the shipping of *Europe*, by the walls, in shutting only of his Ports, and denying the Commodities of his Country to other States. *Cromwell* contrary to this wise Maxime, endeavoured to put the whole *Baltick* Sea into the *Sweeds* hands, and undoubtedly had (though I suppose ignorantly) done it, if his death had not given them that succeeded him, the Long Parliament, an opportunity of prudently preventing it; For if he had understood the importance of the *Baltick* Sea to this Nation, he could not have been so impolitick, as to have projected so dangerous a design against his new *Utopia*, as giving the opening and shutting of it to any one Prince. I am not ignorant, that this error is excused, by pretending that we were to have had *Elsinore* and *Cronenburge* Castle, (the first, the Town, upon the narrow entrance of the *Baltick*, called the Sound, where all Ships Rides, and payes Toll to the King of *Denmark*; and the latter, the Fortrefs, that defends both Town and Ships,) by which we should have been Masters of the Sound, and consequently of the *Baltick*; but they that knows those Countries, and how great a Prince the *Sweed* would have been, had he obtained all the rest, besides these two Bables, must confess, we should have been at his devotion, in our holding of any thing in his Countries: And further, if the dangerous consequence of setting up so great a Prince, had not been in the case, it had



had been against the Interest of *England* to have had an obligation upon us to maintain places so remote, against the enmity of many States and Princes; and that for these reasons.

First, because the ordinary Tolls of the Sound, would not have defrayed half the charge, and to have taken more than the ordinary Tolls, we could not have done, without drawing a generall quarrel upon us, from most of the Princes, and States of the Northern parts of *Europe*.

Secondly, because the experience of all former times sheweth us, that foreign acquisitions, have ever been Chargeable, and prejudicial to the people of *England*, as Sir Robert Cotton makes it clearly appear, That not only all those Pieces of *France*, which belonged to us by rightfull succession; but also those we held by Conquest, were alwayes great burthens to our Nation, and cause of much poverty and misery to the People. And it is not our Case alone, to be the worse for Conquests, ( although more ours ) than other Countries, because of the Charge and uncertainty of the Windes and Weather in the Transportation of Succours and relief by Sea, which contiguous Territories, which are upon the *Maine*, are not subject to, ) but the Case also of ( I think I may say ) all other Kingdoms. In *France*, their burthens and oppressions have grown in all ages, with the greatness of their Kings; Nay, even after their last peace with *Spain*, by which they had given them peace with all the world, besides many places in the *Spanish Netherlands*, and *Catalonia* into boot: Upon which the poor people promised themselves ( though vainly ) an unquestionable abatement of Taxes; instead of that, they found their pressures increased dayly, and though their King, overgrownly great and rich himself, yet the people so poor, that thousands are said to dye in a plentiful year, for want of bread to their water, nothing being free there, but fresh water and aire; For ( except in some few priviledged places ) wherever they have the conveniencie by their Situation of Sea water, ( least they should make use of the benefit of that, which God and Nature hath given them, for saving the charge of Salt, ) every family is forced to take so much Salt of the King, at his own rate, ( which is above ten times the price it is sold for to strangers, for trans-  
and



transportation ) as is judged they may spend in a year ; the Lord deliver all other Countries from their example. In *Sweden*, that King, Court, and their Military Officers, are the better for their Conquests, in *Germany*, *Denmark*, *Russia*, and some places antiently belonging to *Poland* ; but the Commons the worse : *Spain* is undone, by the great number of people sent thence to the *West-Indies*, which hath depopulated the Country, *France* reaping more benefit by keeping their people at home to Manufactures, than *Spain* doth by sending theirs abroad for Silver and Gold ; and now, though by these instances it may appear to be the Interest of the people of other Nations, so well as ours, to live in peace, without coveting additions ; yet it is more our true Interest, ( because, by reason of our Situation, we have no need of Forreign Frontier Towns, our Ships well ordered, being better than other Princes bordering Garrisons ) than any other Kingdoms to neglect especially *European* acquisition, and colonies, and apply our selves :

First, To the improving of our own Land, of which we have more than we have people to manage.

Secondly, To the Increasing our Home and Forreign Trades, for which we have natural advantages above any other Nation.

Thirdly and Lastly, to make use of our strength (which Trade will increase ) together with the helps that God and Nature hath given us in our Situation, and otherwise, to the keeping the Ballance amongst our Neighbours ; For if the Province of *Holland*, which is but Four hundred thousand Acres of profitable ground, is by the benefit of Trade able to do so much, as we experienced the last Warr, what might we do, if Trade were improved, who have much more advantages for it, than they have : I ascribe what was done by the *Netherlands* in the late Warr to the Province of *Holland* ; because, that though the Provinces are seven in number, *Hollands* due proportion of all charges, is  $58\frac{1}{3}$  in a hundred, to all the others  $41\frac{2}{3}$ , of which  $41\frac{2}{3}$ , *Holland* gets little more than 20. honestly paid them, insomuch, that it alone may be reckoned to bear four fifths in a hundred, to one fifth that all the other six bears ; and how prodigious a thing is it, that *Holland*, no bigger than as before mentioned, should be able to



Coap with *England, Scotland, and Ireland*; and that though their Charges in the late Warr was abundantly greater than ours, yet by their good management, to be so little the worse for it, that at the conclusion of the Warr, to have their Credits so high, that they could have commanded what Money they had pleased at Three in the Hundred, and all this by the meer additional benefit of Trade and good Order; and how by *Cromwells* indiscreet neglecting of Trade, and choosing Warr when he was in Peace, did he miss the true Interest of *England*, as by his ill founded designs, he did the Interest of the Reformed Religion; For if he had succeeded in his unjust Invasion of the Spanish Territories in the *West-Indies*, ( as God seldome prospereth dishonest undertakings ) it being intended for a State acquisition, the benefit would not have been defusive, but chiefly to himself and Favorites, and prejudicial to the people in generall, though at the expence of their substance, the acquests would have been made: For had he met with so much success in the gaining those Countries, and in them, that plenty of Gold and Silver as he vainly hoped for, we should have been as unhappy in them ( in the depopulating of our Countries, by the loss of the multitude of people that must have been sent thither, and in impoverishing our Nations by the vast charge of a continual Warr ) as *Spain* is, and to no other end, than the making of him only Rich, able to Inslave the remaining people, and to make himself absolute over them; for the preventing of which, in such Tyrants as *Cromwell*, surely *Moses* had an eye, when he said that they should not greatly multiply Silver and Gold. And thus, as *Cromwells* designs must, to an impartial Judgement, appear to have been laid, some dishonestly, others impolitickly, and all contrary to the Interest of the Kingdome, so the Issue of them was dammageable to the people of *England*: As,

First, in his sudden making a Peace with *Holland*, so soon as he got the Government, without those advantages for Trade, as they who beat them did intend to have had, as their due, and just satisfaction for their Charges in the War.

Secondly, in his War with *Spain*, by the losse of that beneficial Trade to our Nation, and giving it to the *Hollanders*, by whose



whose hands we drave (during the War) the greatest part of that Trade which we had of it, with 25. in the hundreth profit to them, and as much losse to us.

Thirdly, by our losse in that War with *Spain*, of 1500 *English* ships, according as was reported to that Assembly, called *Richards Parliament*.

Fourthly, in the disgracefullest defeat at *Hispaniola* that ever this Kingdom suffered in any age or time.

Fifthly, and lastly, in spending the great Publick stock heound, and yet leaving a vast Debt upon the Kingdom, as appeared by the Accompts brought into *Richards Assembly*; which had, (I believe) been yet much higher, but that they who under him managed the Affairs, were a sort of People who had been long disciplin'd, (before his time) to a Principle of Frugality, and against Cheating; though at cousening the poorer People, for their Masters benefit, some of them were grown as dexterous, as if they had been bred in the Court of *Spain*; For besides imposing *Richard* upon the People, after his Fathers death, by a forged Title, according to the very Law they took to be in being, when by his Assembly, they were ordered to bring in an Accompt of the Receipts, and payments of the Kingdom; they made about Sixty thousand pounds spent in Intelligence, whereas it cost not above Three or Four thousand at most; and calculating the rest by these, it may well be concluded, that they were expert in their Trades.

It is confessed, that *Olivers* Peace and League with *France*, was upon honourable Articles; but as the tottering Affaires of *France* then stood, much more could not have been sooner asked, than had; For *Mazerine*, being a Man of a large and subtle wit, apprehending the Greatness of *England* at that time, which was then dreadfull to the World, and the Vast advantages *France* would have in pulling down, by their help, of *Spain*, granted him, not onely any thing for the present that he demanded, but disregarded also, even his Parties making their boasts of the awe he had him under, Considering, that when *Cromwell* had helped him, to do his Work, in bringing under the House of *Austria*, and therein casting the ballance of Christendom on his



side, he should afterwards have leisure to recover what then he seemed to part with; And though nothing is more ordinary, than to hear Men bragg, how *Oliver* Vapoured over *France*, I do esteem *Mazerine's* complying with him, for his own ends, to be the Chief piece of all his Ministry; For by that means only, and no other, is his Master become so great at this day, that no Factions at home can disturb his Peace, nor Powers abroad frighten him, Which is more than any King of *France*, since *Charles the Great*, could say; And when his Neighbour Nations have (too late I fear) experienced his Greatness, they will finde cause to Curse the ignorance of *Oliver's* Politicks. And were not this a matter of Fact, fresh in the memory of every one, it were hardly to be believed, that a Man, having had so large experience of the abilities of his Masters, the Long Parliament, should so soon as things came into his hands, walk so contrary to their example, and the true Interest of *England*, as it appears he did; but by it he shewed no less than his Ignorance in Foreign Affaires, and the true Interest of Nations; And that he fell into this Error by not understanding that our Interest was changed from what it had been about fifteen years before, when it had for eighty years together, at least, been our Interest to side with *France* against *Spain*, the House of *Austria* then being in a fair way (as they had long designed) of carrying the Universal Monarchy; But after *France* in *Anno 1635*. had joyned with *Sweeden* and *Holland*, against *Spain* and House of *Austria*, That in *Anno 1639*. the *Spaniard* had lost all their Naval strength before *Dover*, being beaten there by the *Dutch*, That in *Anno 1640*. *Portugal*, with all their East and West India Plantations, were revolted, That in *Anno 1641*. *Cattalonia* was fallen unto the *French*, the lowness of the House of *Austria* then changed our Interest, and made it to be that of Arbitrators, in keeping the Ballance even, betwixt the two Parties of *Spain* and *France*, which the Long Parliament first discovered, and wisely pursued, to the giving a good example to the *Hollanders*, who, so soon as they had an opportunity, followed it; For at the Treaty at *Munster*, the *French* (about *anno 1648*.) in a kinde of bravado, giving the *Hollanders*, who were then in League with them, leave



leave to make their Peace with *Spain*, (thinking it was not in their power to do it,) they took the *French* at their words, and immediately struck up a Peace with *Spain*; at which the *French* were afterwards so incensed, that it is well if they have yet forgot it. But by this means, and the Long Parliaments Neutrality, with a bending towards *Spain*, the Ballance betwixt the two Crownes of *France* and *Spain* was preserved, untill *Cromwell* imprudently broke it, Not knowing (I suppose) that Our Interest was Changed, but thinking it was still the same, and as popular as it had formerly been, to be against *Spain*; and therefore, when a true measure is taken of *Cromwell*, the approbation that he hath in the World, will not be found to have its Foundation in sence or reason, but proceeding from Ignorance, and Atheisme: From Ignorance, in those that takes all that was done by him; as a Servant, and whilst under the direction of better Heads, than his own, to be done by him alone; And from Atheisme, in those that thinks every thing lawfull that a man doeth, if it succeed to his advancement; But they that shall take an impartial View of his Actions whilst he was a Single Person, and at liberty to make use of his own Parts without controll, will finde nothing worthy Commendations, but cause enough from thence to observe, that the wisdom of his Masters, and not his own, must have been that by which he first moved; and to attribute his former performances, whilst a Servant, (as is truly due) to the Judgement and Subtilty of the Long Parliament, under whose Conduct and Command he was. And now from *Cromwells* neglecting to live in peace, as if he had pleased he might have done with all the World, to the great enriching of this Nation; The improvement of our Victory over *Holland* in his peace with them, His being the Cause of the losse of our Spanish Trade, during all his time, Of the losse of 1500 English ships in that War, besides, by it, breaking the Ballance of *Europe*, Of the expence of the Publick Stock and Stores he found, with the contracting a Debt of Nineteen hundred thousand pounds, according to his own accompt, (which, for ought I know he left behinde him, but am apt to think the Debt was not altogether so great, though made so to his Sonne *Richard's* Assembly, as a means.



means to get the more Money from the poorer people : ) And lastly, of the dishonourable overthrow we met with at *Hispaniola*, It may well be Concluded that he lay the Foundation of our present want of Trade, to what we formerly enjoyed; and that the reason why his miscarriages were not sooner under observation, is, because our Stock of Wealth and Honour at his Coming to the Government, being then unspeakably great, stifled their appearance, untill having since had some unhappy additional Losses, they are now become discernable as first Losses to a Merchant, who Concealedly bears up under them, are afterwards discovered by the addition of second Losses, that sincks him : When I contemplate these great Failings, I cannot but apprehend the sad Condition any people are in, whose Governour drive on a distinct contrary Interest to theirs; for doubtless *Cromwell's* over-weening Care to secure his particular Interest, against His Majesty, (then abroad) and the Long Parliament, whom he had turned out, with a prodigious Ambition of acquiring a glorious Name in the World, carried him on to all his Mistakes and Absurdities, to the irreparable losse and dammage of this famous Kingdom.

To prove the second Assertion, That *Oliver's* Time was full of Oppression and Injustice, I shall but instance in a few of many Particulars, and begin with *John Lilburne*, not that I think him in any kinde one that deserved favour or respect, but that equal Justice is due to the worst so well as best men, and that he comes first in order of time.

1. *John* in 1649, was by Order of the then Parliament tryed for his Life, with an intent ( I believe ) of taking him away, but the Jury not finding him Guilty, he was immediately, according to Law, generously set at liberty by those, that had quarrell enough against him. This Example in the Parliament of keeping to the Laws in the Case of one, who was a professed implacable Enemy to them, ought to have been Copied by *Cromwell*; but in the contrary, to shew that there was a difference betwixt his and his Predecessors ( the Long Parliaments ) Principles, when the Law had again upon a second Tryal ( occasioned by *Oliver* )  
Cleared



Cleared *Lilburne*, the Parliaments submitting to the Law was no Example to him; For, contrary to Law, he kept him in Prison, untill he was so far spent in a Consumption, that he onely turned him out to dye.

2ly. Mr. *Conyes* Case is so notorious, that it needs little more than naming: He was a Prisoner at *Cromwells* Suit, and being brought to the Kings Bench Barr by a *Habeas Corpus*, had his Counsell taken from the Barr, and sent to the Tower for no other reason, than the pleading of their Clients Cause, an Act of Violence, that I believe the whole Story of *England* doth not parallel.

3ly. Sir *Henry Vaine*, above any one Person, was the Author of *Olivers* Advancement, and did so long, and cordially Espouse his Interest, that he prejudiced himself (in the opinion of some) by it, yet so ungratefull was this Monster of Ingratitude, that he studied to destroy him, both in Life and Estate, because he could not adhere to him in his Perjury and Falseness. The occasion he took was this, He appointing a Publick Day of Humiliation, and seeking of God for him, invited all Gods People in his Declaration, to offer him their advise in the weighty affairs then upon his shoulders: Sir *Henry* taking a rise from hence offered his Advise by a Treatise, called *The Healing Question*, But *Cromwell*, angry at being taken at his word, Seized, Imprisoned, and in-deavoured to proceed further against him, for doing only, what he had invited him to do; and some may think, that Sir *Henry* suffered justly, for having known him so long, and yet would trust to any thing he said.

4ly. In *Richards* Assembly, certain Prisoners in the Tower, under the then Lieutenant, and some sent thence to *Fersey*, and other places beyond the Sea, complained of false Imprisonment. Their Goaler was sent for, and being required to shew by what Authority he kept those persons in hold, produceth a Paper all under *Olivers* own Hand, as followeth. Sir, I pray you seise such and such Persons, and all others, whom you shall judge dangerous men, do it quickly, and you shall have a Warrant after you have done. The nature of this Warrant was by *Richards* Assembly debated, and having first *Richards* own Counsells opinion in the Case, as  
Serjeant



Serjeant *Maynard*, &c. they Voted the Commitment of the Complainants to be Illegal, Unjust, and Tyrannical; and that first, because the Warrant by which they were Committed, was under the hand of the then (as they called him) Chief Magistrate, who by Law ought not to commit any by his own Warrant. Secondly, because no Cause was shewn in the Warrant; And Thirdly, (in the Case of those sent out of the reach of a *Habeas Corpus*, which in Law is a Banishment) because no English-man ought to be Banished by any less Authority than an Act of Parliament. And therefore, for these reasons, they Voted farther, that the Prisoners should be set at Liberty without paying any Fees, or Charges, but the turning out, and punishing the Lieutenant by the Assembly (for obeying so unjust a Warrant) was prevented by their sodain dissolution.

5ly. The Tyranny in the decemating a party restored to common Priviledges with all others, and the publick Faith given for it, by a Law made to that end, by the then powers in being, is sufficiently shewed in the mentioning of it, only there is this aggravating Circumstance in it, That *Cromwell*, who was the principal Person in procuring that Law, when he thought it for his advantage not to keep it, was the only Man for breaking it; But to the honour of his first Assemblie, next following, it may be remembred, that they no sooner came together, than like true English-men, who are alwayes jealous of the Rights and Priviledges of the people, damned the Act of Decemation as an unjust and wicked breach of Faith.

The third Assertion of *Cromwells* knowing no honesty, where he thought his particular Interest was concerned, is made good: First (though therein he mistook his Interest) in his odious and unjust Warr with *Spain*, without the least provocations, meerly out of an ambitious and covetous design of robbing that Prince of his Silver and Gold Mines, and because he judged it for his Credit to disguise his unlawfull desires, he proceeded in it, by imploying his Creatures in the City, to draw the Marchants to complain of Injuries done them by *Spain*, and to Petition for Reparations; but by a cross Providence, his Project had a contrary Success; for instead of answering his seekings, the Marchants re-



remonstrated to him, the great prejudice that a Warr with *Spain* would be to *England*, and shewed, that that King had been so farr from Injuring us, that he had done more for Compliance and preventing a breach with *England*, than ever he had done in favour of any other Nation; But when *Oliver* saw his Method would not take, he called the Remonstrators Malignants, and begun the Warr of his own accord, in which, he was highly ingratefull in designing the ruine of that Prince, who all along had been most faithfull to his Party.

Secondly, His Falseness and Ingratitude, appeared superlatively in turning out his Masters, who had not onely advanced him, but made themselves the more odious by their partial affection towards him, and in his doing it, with the breach of a positive negative Oath, taken once a year, when made a Counsellor of State, besides the breach of all other Ingagements, Voluntary Imprecations, Protestations, and Oaths, taken frequently upon all occasions in Discourse and Declarations; and yet further (when he had turned them out) and left them void of Protection, and exposed them to the Fury of the People, in pursuing them with false reproachfull Declarations, enough to have stirred up the rude multitude to have destroyed them, wherever they had met them.

Thirdly, His want of Honour, so well as Honesty, appeareth yet further, in that having, by a long Series of a seeming pious deportment, gained, by his dissimulation, good thoughts in his Masters, the Long Parliament, and by his Spiritual gifts, winded himself into so good an opinion with his Souldiers, (men generally of plain breeding, that knew little besides their Military Trade, and Religious Exercises) that he could impose, in matters of business, what Belief he pleased upon them; he made use of the credit he had with each, to abuse both, by many vile practises, for making himself popular, and the Parliament and Army odious to one another; and because the Artifices he used are too many to innumerate, I shall but instance in some few; As his flie complaining Insinuations against the Army to the Parliament, and against them to the Army: His being the chief Cause of the Parliaments giving rewards to his Creatures, and then, whisper-  
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ing Complaints amongst his Officers, of their ill Husbandry: His obstructing the House in their business, by long drawling Speeches, and other wayes, and then complaining of them to his Souldiers, that he could not get them to do any thing that was good: His giving fair words to every one, without keeping promise with any, except for his own advantage, and then excusing all with forgetfullness: And his deserting his Major Generalls, in their decimations, crying out most against them himself, when he only had set them at work, because questioned by his Assembly, is not to be forgotten, &c. I would not be understood, to remember any thing here, in Favour of the Long Parliament, for what might be Wicked in him, might be Just as to them; And though, if what he did, had been for the Restauration of his Majesty, he might have been excused, yet being for his own Single Advancement, it is unpardonable, and leaves him a Person to be truly admired for nothing but Apostasie & Ambition, and exceeding *Tyberius* in dissimulation. I am not ignorant, that some thinks it matter of praise in him, that he kept us in peace, four years, and nine months; but that bath little in it, his Majesty having done the like, almost double his time, since his Return, with one fifth part of that number of Souldiers which he Commanded; though he, hath also had the trouble of pressing, and sometimes forcing Uniformity in Religion, which he found under severall Forms; whereas *Oliver*, kept the Nation purposely divided in opinions, and himself of no declared Judgement, as the securest way of ingageing all severall perswasions equally to him; which Artifice, together, with his leaving the Church Lands alienated as he found them, were all the true Principles of Policy that I know of, which he kept unto. The Honesty of these Principles, I refer to the judgement of every mans Conscience; but if we may judge of things by experience and success, they seem to have been very happy in the world; For in comparing the Condition of the Protestant Countries at present, to what they were in times of Popery, we shall find them abundantly more considerable now, than formerly; for in taking a true Survey of the Reformed Dominions, we shall discover them to bear no proportion at all in largeness, to the Popish, and that there is nothing, that keeps



keeps the Ballance betwixt the two parties, but the advantage that the first hath, in being free from the Bondage of the Church of *Rome*, and the latters being under it; For as the Church of *Romes* mercies, are (by their Principles) Cruelties, so had they power answerable to the naturall richness of the Soyl of their Countries, and extent of their Territories, they would long ere this have swallowed up the Protestant Churches, and made Bonafires of their Members; but as God, in his Mercy and Wisdome, hath by his Over Ruling Hand of Providence, preserved his Church; so for the Romish Churches inability to effect that which they have will, and malice enough to carry them on to do, there are these natural reasons.

First, There being generally of the Popish Countries, above one Moyetie belonging to Churchmen, Monks, Fryars, and Nunns, who like Droans, spends the Fat of the Land, without contributing any thing to the good of mankind, renders them much the less considerable.

Secondly, Marriage being forbidden to all these Sorts, and Orders, occasions great want of people every where, (they being incapable of any Children but those of darkness) except in *France*, which is an extraordinary Case, proceeding partly, by not being so subject to *Rome*, as other Countries of that belief are; but especially from the Multitude of Protestants, that are among them.

Thirdly, The blind Devotion of these People, carrying them on to vast expences, in the building, and richly adorning of many needless and superfluous Churches, Chapells, and Crosses, &c. with the making chargeable Presents by the better, and Pilgrimages by the meaner sort, to their Idolls, keeps all degrees under.

Fourthly, The many Holydayes, upon which, the labouring man is forbidden to work, adds much to their poverty.

But Fifthly and Lastly, The vast number of begging Fryars, who living Idly, and purely upon the sweat of other mens brows, without taking any labour themselves, makes it impossible, for the lower sort of people, who thinks they are bound in Conscience to relieve them, ever to get above a mean Condi-



on; Now whosoever shall seriously weigh and ponder these Circumstances, under which the Popish Countries lyes, and consider the Reformeds advantage in being free from them, must confess it the less wonder, that the Evangelical Princes, and States, with their small Dominions, compared to the others great, are able to bear up against them; and now as the alienation of Church-lands, the turning out the Romish Vermin, the Priests, Monks, Fryars, and Nunns, (who devour all Countries wherever they come) and freedom from the Popish Imposition upon Conscience, hath mightily increased the greatness of the Protestant Princes, and States, to what they antiently were, and the not doing the same in the Popish Countries, keeps those Princes under; so, even amongst the Reformed, where the Church Lands are most alienated, and Liberty of Conscience most given, they prosper most, as in *Holland*, and some parts in *Germany*, with other places. *Holland* could not have so far exceeded *Zealand* and *Friesland* in Trade and Wealth as it now doth, (the former having rather more Conveniency for Trade than they, and the latter equal with them,) were it not that their largeness in the Principle of Conscience, gives them the advantage, As the others narrowness in it, is their disadvantage. I have observed, that when Proclamations (or *Placates* as they call them) have been Issued out by *Friesland*, (as they sometimes are) against Dissenters, the subtle *Hollanders* have rejoiced at it, as knowing they should get the more People, and consequently Trade, and Wealth by it. That wise Prince, the Elector Palatine) who, by the General consent of all Perswasions in *Germany*; is, for Wisdom, the Honor of their Nation, had never re-peopled his Country so much as he hath already done, had he not been free as to Liberty of Conscience; I knew a Gentleman, who having had the Honor to wait upon this Prince at *Manheim* (a City of his burnt totally down in time of Warre) was one time in his Train, as he walked out to take the Aire, when the Prince observing some Peasants of a strange Country come into the Town, he (as is usual with him when he meets Strangers) called them to him, and upon examination, finding them to be Fanatick *Switzers*, fled from the Presbyterian



byterian rigour, either of *Berne* or *Zurich*. After he had in-  
 courageously dismissed them, expiessed to this *English* Gentle-  
 man his admiration at the folly of the Principle of Imposition  
 upon Conscience, in this age of so much Light; which he fur-  
 ther said, was now so great, that he believed the Bishops of  
*England* would give over their plea of *Jure Divino*, and this  
 Principle in a Prince, whose Art in Government is so eminent,  
 is worth observing: As this Elector findes the benefit of this  
 Principle, (so the Emperor, who is too much ledd by the Je-  
 suites) findes (in his hereditary Lands which were layed waste  
 by the Warre) the want of it, whilst also several Sovereign  
 Bishops, and Abbots in *Germany*, findes a necessity of giving  
 Liberty of Conscience, in their several Countries, to all sorts  
 of *Lutherans*, if not to others; Nay such is the profitable  
 Nature of this Liberty, that in *Italy*, where a Tolleration can-  
 not be pretended unto, even in those places where Connivance  
 is most, they prosper most, as at *Venice*, *Genova*, *Lucca*, and  
*Livorno*, which are all the places that can be said to be well-  
 peopled in *Italy*. And on the contrary, *Denmark*, where Church-  
 lands are least alienated, of any of the Reformed Countries,  
 and the City of *Lubeck*, where, of all the free *Lutheran* Imperial  
 Cities of *Germany*, Liberty of Conscience is least given, they thrive  
 least in both places; So that, as in all Countries abroad, a-  
 mongst all Perswasions, where Church Lands are most aliena-  
 ted, and Liberty of Conscience most given, they thrive most;  
 So the wisest Princes, and States, gives most Liberty, and Con-  
 verts Church lands most to Publick good. And I think it will  
 also hold, that as this famous Kingdome, in the times of Po-  
 pery, was in no measure so formidable as now it is; So before the  
 Restauration of our Hierarchie to their Lands, their hoording  
 up the money which before went in Trade, and their discourage-  
 ing and driving into corners the industrious sort of people, by  
 imposing upon their Conscience, it flourished more, was richer,  
 and fuller of Trade, than now it is; And I dare undertake to  
 be a Prophet in this, That if ever any Protestant Countrey,  
 should be so farr forsaken of the Lord as to be suffered to turn  
 unto



unto Popery; these Observations will be made good in their visible loss of the Splendor, Riches, Power, and Greatness, that they now know.

Had *Cromwell* been a Person of an open prophane Life, his Actions had been less scandalous; but having been a Professor of Religion, they are not to be pleaded for, neither can it be consistent with Religion to palliate them which have been of so much offence, and (as may be feared) made so many Atheists in the World; And I cannot but stand amazed, when I hear him extolled by some, not ignorant of his Practises, knowing in Religion, and (as I hope) fearing God.

Now I will suppose, I may be suspected to have been injured, or disobliged by *Oliver*; but I can with Truth affirm, I never received either Good or Evil from him in all my Life, more than in Common with the whole Kingdom (which I think may be allowed to render me the more a Competent Judge in his Case;) and that I am so far from being moved unto this, out of any quarrel to him, that, as I have here mentioned, some few of many Injustices, and State-errors, that he was guilty of in his short time; If I were conscious of any thing more, during his Protectorship, worthy applause, than I have here mentioned, I should not envy it him, but freely remember it; and if any think I have not said enough on his behalf, and too much to his disadvantage, I have this for my Buckler, that I wish I could have said more for him, and had known less against him; professing, that besides what I have here hinted, I am wholly ignorant of any one Action in all his Four Years and Nine Moneths time, done either wisely, Vertuously, or for the Interest of this Kingdom, and therefore that I am none of his Admirers, I ought to be pardoned by my Readers.

Much more might be said upon this Subject, but this may suffice to shew, that if *Mazeline* (at the hearing of *Olivers* death) thought



thought he had then reason for calling him a Fortunate Fool, if he were now living he would finde more Cause for it, *Cromwell's* Lott, as to Reputation, having been exceedingly much greater since his death, than whilst he was in the World : And that from forgetfulness of his impolitick Government, ( from whose Entrance we may date the commencement of our Trades decay; ) And ( through want of memory ) in mens giving to him the Cause of our former Wealth and Prosperity, which truly belongeth to others. But what opinion soever *Mazeline* may have had of *Oliver*, he was without all peradventure a Person of more than ordinary Wit, and no otherwise a Fool than as he wanted Honesty, no Man being wise but an Honest Man.

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thought he had then reason for calling him a Fortunate Fool, if he were now living; he would find more Cause for it, Cromwell's Fort, as to Reputation, having been exceedingly much greater since his death, than whilst he was in the World: And that from forgetfulness of his impolitic Government, (from whose Entrance we may date the commencement of our Trade decay;) And (though want of memory) in men giving to him the Cause of our former Wealth and Prosperity, which truly belongeth to others. But what opinion soever Mankind may have had of Oliver, he was without all peradventure a Person of more than ordinary Wit, and no otherwise a Fool than as he wanted Honesty, no Man being wiser but an Honest Man.

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